597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [191] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 191 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 934 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or Yaro in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 809

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

[804]

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 080

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
114 with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given. Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
●855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play seems most successful when there are many children of the same age in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water. Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year. Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

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304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

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562 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

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593 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child, though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

2tMaretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1964-1965) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

512 461 [355] [362] care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visiting back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

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512 [231] Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

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512 [231] [438] Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 362 264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except
[843] that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of
[482] childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn
[464] over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

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and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

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year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors.

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient.

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father.

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it.

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as

853 262 [843] There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods, such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are believed to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

858 155 ●855 177 [861] The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old. If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, according to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

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frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

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●855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not
[262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an-
854 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those
757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their
[164] mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older.
[594] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from
[744] every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this
[855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

herself from head to toe when she had left her diaperless on the floor for a few minutes. She had assumed that the child had completed elimination and had gone out to rinse the soiled diaper. 863

When the infant is anywhere from 22 days to 10 months old, the mothers start trying to anticipate urination before the baby wets his diapers. Each mother trains herself to [illegible]r child's particular cues, squirming, peculiar facial expressions, and so on, or keeps a kind of mental time check. Holding the infant in a semisitting position out over the edge of the porch, and supporting him under his knees with her hands and at his back with her chest, she coaxes gently, repeating "shi-shi" until he urinates onto the ground outside. If the mother is successful in her efforts, she hugs, kisses, and praises the infant. On the other hand, if she does not reach him in time and he is already wet, she will hold the child over the wet diaper and say "shi-shi." This is to ensure that he has fully eliminated, or if the interval between diaper checks has been long, to make certain that he does not need to urinate again before putting on a fresh change. In these instances she does not praise unless the infant does urinate or eliminate at her coaxing, but she does not punish him for urinating in his diapers. [861]

Although mothers may desire bladder control to develop, their statements do not indicate that they conceive of holding the child out as training. In discussing the practice, mothers seemed more concerned about the number of diapers they had to wash or buy. With a great deal of pride one mother reported that she never had to wash a diaper except when it was soiled with feces. Another bragged that she had only had to buy diapers once, and this was for her first child. Treatment of bladder control at a later period raises further doubt that this practice is meant for training purposes. Pertinent here, too, is the belief that children are incapable of learning at this early date. [861]

While a few mothers who have the time to look after their babies continue to avoid wet diapers, most of them eventually abandon the routine and leave it to the child to train himself. When they resume normal activities following childbirth, an older sibling takes over the care of the infant, and the mother does not instruct the older child to continue the practice. Fear for the safety of the baby keeps her from doing so. Once she straps the baby onto the young caretaker's back, she expects him to remain there until she or another adult unstraps him. Teen-age caretakers seldom bother to change wet diapers until it becomes unbearable. If the grandmother is the chief caretaker, however, she will continue the practice. For the greater part of the first year, the infant urinates in his diaper, frequently wetting his caretaker. Just before the child turns one, most mothers will reduce the amount of 863 854 855 863

855 863 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 854 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!"

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl.

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands.

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed

855 857 [285] ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 863 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 184 462 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woodsmen's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 155 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nurturance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

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866 887 603 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4 or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult. The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between children who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grandfather whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house) . . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying, hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman comforts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satisfaction.

866 603 ●855 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the village other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overindulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother sitting within eye and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility.

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.*

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings.

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

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are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults.

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child.

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child.

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play.

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand

872 876 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 857 [875] The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 [576] [515] [291] Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before entering the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

● 855 867 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village, adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

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On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made.

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away.

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands.

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar.

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

● 855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

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wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not per- 535
mitted in the classical Okinawan dance.

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 857
9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is 513
considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap.

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. 857
He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you 155
play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct par- 156
ents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play."

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but 857
generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" 855
individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and 861
is censured in this case.

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and 857
irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month- 854
old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and

863 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was pres-
515 ent at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During
[857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 1-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

> A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

● 855 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He
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can still try to get his way by crying, and his mother willingly continues to give him food when he asks. One parent remarked that it was much easier to meet the child's demands. Observations confirmed this statement. Many adults simply say "Yes" and promise things to children which they promptly forget. Obedience is not expected except for conformity with safety rules. Until shortly before he starts off to school, the child's disobedience tends to be excused. "No, no!" says a mother to her year-old child who may be waving a piece of sugar cane around her head from his perch on her back. The child continues, and the mother pushes the stalk aside each time she is hit. "Know nothing," she says as she rearranges the stalk, to avoid being hit. "Don't mess the yard," screams a grandmother. "Stop puddling in that mud," shouts a father. "Go and bring me the hoe," commands a mother. To all these requests the child may turn a deaf ear, and chances are that he will escape being punished for not complying. Mothers admitted that they allow their children a great deal of leeway concerning obedience.

By instilling fear into the child about the dangers of the well, river and beach, the main road and paddies, adults attempt to enforce the rules of safety. Their attempts are negated, however, when they allow children of this age to play in these areas in the company of older siblings. No one coming across schoolchildren trailed by kindergarteners censures or points out the danger of these places; however, should an adult or older child come upon a group of kindergarten children playing alone at the river or beach, a word of caution or reprimand is sure to be offered.

In a village such as Taira with its closely situated houses, dry thatched roofs, and light wood walls, the danger of fire is very real; therefore the rule with respect to playing with fire and matches is stringently enforced regardless of the age of the child. One mother of a 4-year-old boy found smoke rising from the backyard one day. She went to the source of the smoke and found her 4-year-old busily striking matches and trying to whip up a fire. His 4-year-old companion was scurrying about for pieces of brush and paper with which to feed the fire. "I scolded him roundly, spanked him and tied his hands. I threatened to put him in a basket, then suspend the basket from the rafter posts the next time he played with matches. He was so frightened that I doubt whether he will ever play with matches again."

Aggression in children up to school age is generally tolerated although adults do not approve of such behavior. Because they feel that preschool children change their minds and moods so rapidly, adults do not interfere with their altercations. Parents laughingly explain,

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872 [876] The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 264 [863] At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 ● 855 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher, good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

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dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the river.

RETURNING HOME

The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes."

"Ai! Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances.

The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls.

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

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857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
●[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

● 855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the
861 child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her
593 offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

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In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

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Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

855 593 861 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however, are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out [124] of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

593 512 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark. A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, therefore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

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Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages [857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

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Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males. A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. [858] [562]

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Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561

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no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 866 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it, she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, without too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

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857 866 296 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 866 653 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

593 602 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 171 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite different from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its primary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if possible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 581 [584] 593 • 855 [171] As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

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later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. [861]

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. [855] [154] [867] [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [20] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[56] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 [88] [87] 877 882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.